

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 1181

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH, GW

SUBJECT: DEVELOPMENT OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS: AN FRG

ANALYSIS

DURING MARCH 4 POLADS FRG REP (CITRON) DISTRIBUTED THE FOLLOWING
PAPER ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS. TEXT
FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. AT THE INVITATION OF THE SINO-JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY,
SHIGERU HORI, ONE OF THE GRAND OLD MEN OF THE JAPANESE
GOVERNMENT PARTY, VISITED CHINA FROM 15 TO 21 JANUARY 1975
AND HAD SEVERAL HOURS OF TALKS WITH THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE SOCIETY (LIAO CHENG-CHI, CHANG HSIANG-CHAN) AS WELL
AS WITH THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE
PARTY, TENG SIAO-PING, AND A TALK WITH CHOU EN-LAI LASTING
ONE HOUR AND 20 MINUTES. (HORI WAS SEVERAL TIMES A MINISTER,
SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE LDP AND HAD BEEN MENTIONED AS A
CANDIDATE FOR THE OFFICE OF PARTY CHAIRMAN AND PRIME MINISTER
WHEN THE LAST GOVERNMENT WAS FORMED.)

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2. HORI'S VISIT TO CHINA HAS CAUSED THE SAME STIR IN JAPAN AS THE
ALMOST SIMULTANEOUS VISIT OF CSU CHAIRMAN STRAUSS CAUSED IN
GERMANY. HORI IS BEING REGARDED AS ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE

CENTRE-RIGHT GROUP OF THE GOVERNMENT PARTY. PARTICULARLY TWO THIRDS OF THE PARTY ARE CONSIDERED TO BE CENTRE-RIGHT. HE HIMSELF POINTED OUT THAT THIS INVITATION REPRESENTED A MANIFESTATION OF THE CHINESE WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH THE CONSERVATIVE FORCES IN JAPAN.

3. IN HORI'S VIEW, THE JAPANESE ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHINA HAS UNDERGONE A CHANGE IN THE TWO AND A HALF YEARS SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE FEARS THAT JAPAN MIGHT FOLLOW IN THE WAKE OF CHINA AND THAT COMMUNISM, CULTURE REVOLUTION AND SIMILAR IDEAS MIGHT INFILTRATE INTO JAPAN HAD PROVIDED UNFOUNDED. THE JAPANESE HAD REMEMBERED THEIR HISTORICAL INDEBTEDNESS TO CHINA FOR THE CULTURAL ASSETS INHERITED FROM THEM AND REGRETTED THE PERIOD OF HOSTILE CONFLICTS WITH THEIR GREAT NEIGHBOUR. IT WAS CLEAR THAT NO MORE WARS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO BREAK OUT WITH CHINA, AND THEY HAD ONLY ONE DESIRE: TO EXTEND THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH CHINA TO A WIDE ROAD.

4. FROM THE TALKS BETWEEN HORI AND CHOU EN-LAI, THE JAPANESE PRESS EMPHASIZED THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- THE CHINESE PRIME MINISTER HAD BEEN ASTONISHED THAT A STRONG ECONOMIC POWER LIKE HAPAN DID SO LITTLE FOR ITS NATIONAL DEFENCE. HORI ADDED THAT HIS PARLIAMENTARY COLLEAGUES FROM THE OPPOSITION WHO OTHERWISE FREQUENTLY REFERRED TO CHINA WOULD NOW BE INCREASINGLY EMBARRASSED;

- THIS WAS EVEN MORE TRUE OF CHOU'S REMARK THAT CLOSE JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS WERE NATURAL AND CONTRIBUTED TO SECURITY AND STABILITY IN ASIA. THIS MEANS THAT THE JAPANESE AND THE CHINESE PRIME MINISTERS WERE IN FULL AGREEMENT ON THIS POINT. THE REMARK WAS PROBABLY MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF CHOU'S CLAIM THAT HE WAS NOT QUITE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND WHY HAPAN COULD HAVE ANY FEARS ON ACCOUNT OF CHINA IN VIEW OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

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- THIS CONTEXT ALSO APPLIES TO A CONCLUSION DRAWN BY HORI FROM HIS TALK WITH CHOU THAT JAPAN, IN EXPANDING ITS RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES, NEED NOT BE AFRAID OF THE SOVIET UNION. A NEWSPAPER QUOTES HORI AS HAVING SAID: "CHOU BELIEVES THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA WOULD COMPEL THE SOVIET UNION TO CHANGE ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS JAPAN."

5. WHEN HE ASKED ABOUT THE OFFICIALLY STILL EXISTING POLICY OF EQUIDISTANCE TO PEKING AND MOSCOW, HORI REPLIED THAT THE QUESTION OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES STOOD LIKE A WALL BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE SOVIET UNION, WHILE THE WAY TOWARDS PEKING WAS

OPENING UP LIKE A WIDE ROAD. (THERE ARE ALSO AN INCREASING NUMBER OF VOICES IN THE JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTRY WHICH REGARD A JAPANESE REAPPROACHMENT WITH CHINA AS THE ONLY REMAINING INSTRUMENT OF JAPAN'S POLICY VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION. THUS, THE SOVIETS HAD MANAGED TO DRIVE THE JAPANESE INTO THE ARMS OF THE CHINESE).

6. WITH REGARD TO THE SINO-JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP TREATY. HORI ADDED THAT HE EXPECTED AN EARLY CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. ANOTHER SHORT ROUND OF TALKS TOOK PLACE BETWEEN HAPANESE VICE MINISTER TOGO AND CHINESE AMBASSADOR CHEN CHU. HOWEVER, THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY COULD NOT BE EXPECTED DURING THE PERIOD OF THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT. THIS MEANS THAT RATIFICATION WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE BEFORE THE AUTUMN OF THIS YEAR.
EN TEXT.
BRUCE.

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